

Message Text

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ORIGIN AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SSO-00 MMO-01 SIG-03 PA-02
NSCE-00 SS-15 ICAE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 HA-05
INRE-00 IO-14 /073 R

DRAFTED BY AF:PGSMITH:JJ
APPROVED BY AF:WCHARROP
-----053147 160905Z /10

O 160831Z JUL 78 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG NIACT IMMEDIATE
ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS

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LUXEMBOURG FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY MOOSE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S "LE MATIN" INTERVIEW - PART 2

FOLLOWING, ON FYI BASIS, IS EXCERPT FROM AMEMBASSY PARIS
DAILY MEDIA ANALYSIS WHICH CONTAINS FULL TEXT OF SECOND
PART OF INTERVIEW. FIRST PART BEING SENT SEPTTEL.

BEGIN TEXT:

LE MATIN THURSDAY COMPLETES PUBLICATION OF AMBASSADOR
ANDREW YOUNG'S INTERVIEW WITH NINA SUTTON. A FRONT-PAGE
SUMMARY SAYS: "IN AN INTERVIEW WITH LE MATIN, ANDREW
YOUNG IS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE AMERICAN
DIPLOMAT THE MOST INVOLVED IN THE QUEST FOR A SETTLEMENT
TO WARD OFF A SERIES OF VIOLENT CRISES IN SOUTHERN
AFRICA BELIEVES THAT A SOLUTION OF THE NAMIBIA PROBLEM
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BEFORE THE END OF THE SUMMER SHOULD ENABLE THE WHITES OF
THE TWO NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES, RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA
TO ENVISION THEIR FUTURE WITH MORE SERENITY. THE COMING
TO POWER OF THE BLACK MAJORITY IN THE FORMER SOUTH WEST
AFRICA NOW CONTROLLED BY THE PRETORIA REGIME SHOULD OFFER
AN EXAMPLE FOR THE SOLUTION OF THE RHODESIAN AND SOUTH
AFRICAN PROBLEMS, UNLESS THE REGION CAPSIZES.

IN THE SECOND PART OF THE INTERVIEW WHICH HE GRANTED THE
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT OF THIS NEWSPAPER, NINA SUTTON,

THE US AMBASSADOR TO THE UN KEEPS THE 'DEDRAMATIZING' TONE THAT HE USED CONCERNING MOSCOW-WASHINGTON RELATIONS.

FIVE WESTERN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING FRANCE, ARE ENGAGED IN NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA. THESE DISCUSSIONS WERE RESUMED YESTERDAY IN LUANDA, THE CAPITAL OF ANGOLA, IN THE PRESENCE OF LEADERS OF THE SWAPO, THE NATIONALIST ORGANIZATION STRUGGLING AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF ANGOLA DECLARED HIMSELF OPTIMISTIC CONCERNING THE PROSPECT OF 'A JUST SOLUTION.' ANGOLA, INCIDENTLY, IS A COUNTRY WHICH, ALTHOUGH MARXIST, DOES NOT CAUSE ANDREW YOUNG TO DESPAIR THE LATTER ACTUALLY TOLD LE MATIN THAT HE SECRETLY MET WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE LUANDA REGIME, AGOSTINHO NETO."

FOLLOWING IS THE FULL TEXT OF THE INTERVIEW:

QUESTION - "AS SOON AS YOU TOOK OFFICE, THE UNAMBIGUOUS POSITIONS THAT YOU HAD TAKEN TOWARD THE WHITE REGIMES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA GAVE RISE TO THE HOPE OF SEEING ONE OF THE MOST DRAMATIC PROBLEMS OF OUR PLANET SETTLED. SINCE THEN, DESPITE YOUR UNCEASING EFFORTS, THE SITUATION SEEMS TO HAVE DETERIORATED, AT LEAST IN RHODESIA. CAN A UNCLASSIFIED

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PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT STILL TAKE PLACE IN THAT COUNTRY?

ANSWER - EVERYTHING WILL DEPEND ON WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN IN ANGOLA. THE SECURITY COUNCIL POWERS ARE CURRENTLY NEGOTIATING A SETTLEMENT OF THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA. IF THEY SUCCEED AND IF SOUTH AFRICA PULLS OUT ITS TROOPS WHO WILL BE REPLACED BY UN TROOPS, I WOULD SAY THE POSSIBILITIES OF SEEING A SIMILAR SETTLEMENT TAKE PLACE IN RHODESIA IN THE FOLLOWING WEEKS WILL BE VERY GOOD.

QUESTION - IN THE FOLLOWING WEEKS?

ANSWER - YES, THIS REGION OF AFRICA WILL CERTAINLY TILT TO ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER BEFORE THE END OF THIS SUMMER. WITH A SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA, THE VIOLENCE WILL STOP AND THE WHITES OF SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA WILL SEE THAT IT WORKS.

QUESTION - BUT THE LEADERS OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT WILL NEVER AGREE TO NEGOTIATE WITH IAN SMITH...

ANSWER - BUT THEY NEVER STOPPED DOING THIS. ONE THING I DISCOVERED ABOUT RHODESIA IS THAT, DESPITE APPEARANCES, EVERYONE SPEAKS TO EVERYONE. MUZOREWA SPEAKS TO MUGABE, SITHOLE TO NKOMO AND SMITH SPENDS HIS TIME SENDING MESSAGES ALL AROUND. THIS IS A FAMILY QUARREL, YOU KNOW.

MUCH MORE THAN PUBLIC OPINION BELIEVES. AND THIS HAS BEEN THE CASE FOR THE PAST FIVE YEARS.

QUESTION - BUT THEN, WHY THE RECENT MASSACRES ASCRIBED TO THE NATIONALISTS?

ANSWER - TO MY KNOWLEDGE NO ONE REALLY KNOWS WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE MASSACRES. I PERSONALLY ASKED MYSELF THE QUESTION. ONE OF THE FIRST PLACES ATTACKED, UNCLASSIFIED

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FOR EXAMPLE, WAS A SALVATION ARMY SCHOOL. BUT ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF NKOMO'S MOVEMENT WERE EDUCATED IN THAT SCHOOL. MOREOVER, THE MISSIONARIES HAVE ALWAYS VERY MUCH HELPED THE GUERRILLAS, DELIBERATELY OR NOT. THEY NOURISHED THEM, NURSED THEM. AND WHEN SOMEONE HAS SAVED YOUR LIFE, YOU DON'T COME BACK TO KILL HIM. AS FOR MUGABE, HE IS A CONVINCED JESUIT AND ALL HIS LIEUTENANTS WERE EDUCATED BY MISSIONARIES. THIS IS WHY I AM HIGHLY SKEPTICAL WHEN THESE MASSACRES ARE ASCRIBED TO PATRIOTIC FRONT FIGHTERS. THE FIRST ONE MIGHT HAVE BEEN PERPETRATED BY UNCONTROLLED REBEL GANGS. BUT THEY WOULD IMMEDIATELY HAVE BEEN ANNIHILATED BY THE NATIONALISTS. THIS IS WHY I WOULD SAY THAT WHAT WAS INVOLVED IS A PLANNED OPERATION TO ATTACK THE MISSIONS -- THIS SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN VERIFIED IN RECENT WEEKS. THIS COULD ONLY COME FROM THE SMITH SIDE.

QUESTION - FAMILY QUARREL OR NOT, THE SITUATION MIGHT THEREFOR TURN INTO A BLOOD BATH?

ANSWER - OH, ABSOLUTELY. EXCEPT THAT THERE IS STILL MUCH MODERATION. MUGABE'S MILITARY LEADER TOLD ME IN CONFIDENCE RECENTLY THAT HIS MOTHER, WHO WORKS ON IAN SMITH'S PLANTATION, WOULD NEVER FORGIVE HIM IF SOMETHING HAPPENED TO SMITH'S PARENTS. BECAUSE THEY HELPED HER ONE DAY WHEN HER OTHER SON WAS ILL. IT IS SOMEHOW LIKE IN THE US SOUTH FORMERLY: ON BOTH SIDES OF THE RACE OR CLASS BARRIERS THERE IS HATRED; BUT ON THE PERSONAL LEVEL THERE ARE TIES THAT ARE SOMETIMES VERY STRONG.

QUESTION - STILL ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, WHY HAS YOUR TEAM, WHICH CONTRARY TO THAT OF YOUR PREDECESSORS HAS LOUDLY UNCLASSIFIED

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PROCLAIMED ITS DESIRE TO RESPECT THE GOVERNMENTS IN

OFFICE, EVEN WHEN THEY ARE MARXIST, BEEN SO LONG IN MAKING A GESTURE TOWARD ANGOLA?

ANSWER - BUT IT DID NOT TAKE THAT LONG. I PROBABLY SHOULD NOT SAY IT BUT I MET WITH AGOSTINHO NETO IN NIGERIA AS EARLY AS IN FEBRUARY 1977. MY ASSISTANT, MR. MCHENRY HAD MET HIM TWICE BEFORE HIS RECENT TRIP TO LUANDA, THAT WAS THE FIRST ONE OFFICIALLY ANNOUNCED. OUR AMBASSADOR TO NIGERIA ALSO WENT SEVERAL TIMES TO LUANDA. IN FACT, OUR CONTACTS WITH THE ANGOLANS HAVE BEEN CONSTANT. BUT IT TOOK A LONG TIME BEFORE WE BELIEVED WE COULD ATTAIN SOMETHING. AND THAT WAS THEIR PROBLEM AS MUCH AS OURS; THEY WANTED TONORMALIZE RELATIONS BUT THEY DID NOT WANT TO HEAR ANYTHING CONCERNING A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT OF THEIR DIFFERENCE WITH JONAH SAVIMBI. WE THEREFORE SPOKE MAINLY OF A PROBLEM WHICH ALSO WORRIES US: THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA.

QUESTION - MAY NORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BE CONTEMPLATED IN THE NEAR FUTURE?

ANSWER - I DON'T KNOW WHAT YOU MEAN BY NEAR FUTURE, BUT WE CERTAINLY ARE CONTEMPLATING THIS. EVERYONE KNOWS IT NOW: AS LONG AS ANGOLA IS NOT STABLE, THERE WON'T BE STABILITY IN ZAIRE. WHETHER WE WANT THIS OR NOT DOES NOT MATTER; IT IS A FACT. THOSE TRIBES ARE SO INTERTWINED THAT IF THE TWO COUNTRIES DO NOT WORK TOGETHER ON SETTLING THEIR DOMESTIC PROBLEMS, THE LATTER WILL KEEP ON SPILLING OVER FROM ONE COUNTRY TO THE OTHER. MOBUTU INCIDENTALLY WAS ABOUT TO SET SOME KIND OF REFORM AFOOT WHEN THE RECENT EVENTS IN SHABA TOOK PLACE.

QUESTION - DO YOU M:AN THAT YOU BELIEVE THAT MOBUTU MIGHT BECOME A GOOD PRESIDENT FOR ZAIRE?
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ANSWER - NO, I SIMPLY SAY THAT HE IS THE PRESIDENT OF ZAIRE AND THAT THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT DOES NOT TRY TO REPLACE OR TO STABILIZE A REGIME IN OFFICE.

QUESTION - BUT IT SUPPORTS SOME AND CONVERSELY...

ANSWER - WE SUPPORT THEM ONLY INSOFAR AS WE HELP THEIR PEOPLES. WHEN PEOPLE ARE WELL FED, DOES THIS SUPPORT THEIR GOVERNMENT? MOREOVER, WE NEVER USED FOOD AID AS A MEANS OF PRESSURE. DURING ALMOST THE WHOLE WAR IN THE OGADEN, WE SUPPLIED BOTH THE ETHIOPIANS AND THE SOMALIS WITH FOOD.

QUESTION - THE US HAD NEVER SHOWN SO MUCH INTEREST IN AFRICA AND NEVER WAS THIS CONTINENT SO TORN.

ANSWER - OH, THESE CONFLICTS HAVE ALWAYS EXISTED. THE DIFFERENCE IS THAT SOME PEOPLE DECIDED TO INTRODUCE

SOPHISTICATED WEAPONS INTO THEM. THIS IS WHY THE UN HAS A ROLE TO PLAY: THE EUROPEANS AND THE AMERICANS ARE ONLY BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THAT AFRICAN CONFLICTS CANNOT BE THOUGHT OF IN EUROPEAN TERMS. IF THE FRENCH PROGRESS A HUNDRED METERS INTO GERMAN TERRITORY, THEY HAVE ACCOMPLISHED SOMETHING. BUT YOU CAN PROGRESS A HUNDRED KILOMETERS INTO THE OGADEN WITHOUT MEETING ANYTHING WORTH FIGHTING FOR. PEOPLE FALL INTO A PANIC BECAUSE THERE ARE 20,000 CUBANS IN ANGOLA, BUT THAT COUNTRY IS TWICE AS BIG AS FRANCE AND 20,000 PEOPLE, WHOEVER THEY ARE, CANNOT CONTROL SO BIG A COUNTRY.

QUESTION - ONE OF YOUR OBJECTIVES WAS TO MAKE MORALITY A PART OF POLITICS. DO YOU THINK THAT YOU HAVE SUCCEEDED-
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ED?

ANSWER - I WANTED THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TO REFLECT THE MORAL SENSE AND THE IDEALISM OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. PRESIDENT CARTER CAMPAIGNED ON THIS THEME AND WE WORKED ON IT. I DON'T KNOW IF IT IS POSSIBLE TO MAKE ALL INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS CONFORM WITH ETHICS. ONE PROBABLY CANNOT EXPECT FROM A GOVERNMENT ANYTHING BETTER THAN AN ENLIGHTENED DEFENSE OF ITS OWN INTERESTS, AND POSSIBLY THIS IS ALSO OUR CASE. BUT THE WORLD SEEMS TO EXPECT MORE FROM THE UNITED STATES. THE SOVIETS CAN DO WHAT THEY PLEASE, THE FRENCH ALSO, BUT WITH US, THE WORLD IS MORE SEVERE.

QUESTION - WOULD YOU RESIGN IF YOUR GOVERNMENT LAUNCHED AN OPERATION THAT YOU WOULD CONSIDER UNETHICAL?

ANSWER - I BELIEVE THAT I WOULD MAKE SO MUCH NOISE THAT I WOULD BE ASKED FOR MY RESIGNATION.

QUESTION - YOU DID NOT HAVE SUCH AN OCCASION UP TO NOW?

ANSWER - NO, THERE WERE THINGS ABOUT WHICH I MAKE A LOT OF NOISE. BUT FRANKLY, I HAVE SUCH A GOOD WORKING RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SECRETARY OF STATE, WITH THE PRESIDENT, AND EVEN WITH THE WHITE HOUSE ADVISER ON NATIONAL SECURITY THAT MOST OF THE TIME WE MANAGED TO SETTLE OUR DISAGREEMENTS BY DISCUSSION. DIFFERENCES

AMONG US ARE MUCH SPOKEN OF, BUT WHAT THE PRESS DOES NOT SAY IS THAT WE ARE VERY GOOD FRIENDS. AND I PERSONALLY BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE VERY DANGEROUS TO HAVE A FOREIGN POLICY TEAM WITHIN WHICH THERE WOULD NEVER BE ANY DIFFERENCES.

QUESTION - IT IS SOMETIMES SAID THAT YOU ARE THE CARTER

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GOVERNMENT'S 'BLACK SERVANT' OR 'GUARANTEE OF LIBERALISM'.

ANSWER - IN BOTH CASES, THIS IS FALSE. THERE ARE MORE THAN A HUNDRED BLACKS IN THE GOVERNMENT AND MANY OCCUPY VERY HIGH POSTS. AS FOR LIBERALISM, I CAN ASSURE YOU IN MOST CABINET MEETINGS THAT I ATTEND, I AM NEVER THE ONLY LIBERAL VOICE. I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT I AM MORE LIBERAL THAN VANCE. EVEN WITH BRZEZINSKI, THE DIS-AGREEMENT CONCERNS MORE THE TACTIC TO BE ADOPTED TOWARD THE CUBANS THAN FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS."

CHRISTOPHER

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 26 sep 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, AMBASSADORS, TEXTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 jan 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE179619
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: AF:PGSMITH:JJ
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D780291-1187
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197807106/baaaezgd.tel
Line Count: 290
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 5c70566b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN AF
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 29 mar 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1857248
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S "LE MATIN" INTERVIEW - PART 2
TAGS: SOPN
To: LUXEMBOURG NIACT ALL AFRICAN DIPLOMATIC POSTS
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/5c70566b-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014